10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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776 782 flesh is cooked and eaten near by, though sometimes the meat is taken a little distance away and is not eaten under the shadow of the tree.

789 791 **Rain-making.** Rain-making is an important ceremony, but it is performed by a Mosega priest who lives among the people for the purpose of assisting them in discharging those religious obligations which they consider necessary yet do not themselves understand how to perform. The man is treated with great respect and has a comfortable existence among them.

Relationships.

601 **Terms of relationship.** The following terms of relationship were supplied by the Rev. J. J. Willis, now Bishop of Uganda, formerly a C.M.S. Missionary at Masono, Kavirondo, who says that the pronominal forms for Father and Mother are used, that is, each person says "My father" or "My mother" (m.s. = man speaks, w.s. = woman speaks).

Father, won, wora
Mother, min, mama
Eldest brother (m.s.), kuyi, ng'anudwong'ona
Eldest sister (w.s.), nyamin mudwong', nyamora mudwong'
Sister (m.s.), Nyamin, Nyamora
Father's brother, omin won, omin worwa
Father's brother's wife, min, minwa mama
Father's brother's child, owat, owadwa
Father's sister, wa, wuya
Father's sister's husband, chwor wa, chwor wuya
Father's sister's child (boy), wod wa, wod wuya
Father's sister's child (girl), nyar wa, nyar wuya
Mother's brother, nar, nara
Mother's brother's wife, chi nar, chi nara
Mother's brother's child (boy), wodu nar, wodu nara
Mother's brother's child (girl), min, mama
Mother's sister, min, mama
Mother's sister's husband, won, worwa
Mother's sister's child (boy), owat nar nyina luo, owadwa nar nyina luo

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Mother's sister's child (girl), nyasio mar nyina luo, nyasuora mar nyina luo
Sister's son's wife (m.s.), chi nyakwon, chi nyakwonwa
Sister's son's child (m.s.), nyakwar, nyakwara
Sister's daughter's husband (m.s.), chwor nyakwon, chwor nyakwa
Sister's daughter's child (m.s.), nyakwar, nyakwara
Father's father, Kwar, kwara
Father's mother, da, dana
Mother's father, Kwar, kwara
Mother's mother, da, dana
Husband, chwor, chwora
Wife's father, or, ora
Wife's mother, mar, mara
Husband's mother, mar, mara
Husband's father, or kwar, ora kwara
Wife's brother, or, ora
Wife's sister, yo or, yo ora
Husband's brother, yo or, yo ora
Husband's sister, yo or, yo ora
Wife's sister's husband, omin, omina
Husband's brother's wife, nyuk, nyuka
Son's wife's parents, nyawuon, nyawuonwa

[pp. 244 ff. not processed]

the hands and, by evolution of the age group now above them, slowly acquiring proficiency in the ritual which male persons, while the girls are drawn into the domestic tasks of the elementary family, food preparation and cooking, fetching water, and minding babies.

The young boys of a play group sleep together in the guest hut of a homestead where they no longer share their mother's hut at night. The girls sleep together in the hut of some widow of the group who is past childbearing age. This is the most important institution for the transmission of female culture. Girls only leave it at marriage, and till that time they are continuously trained in the adult roles expected of them. Boys at puberty build themselves bachelor huts (*Dhotion simbe*) in which they sleep and where they also entertain their girl friends. A group of young men makes a formal assignation with a group of suitable girls from a segment of another maximal lineage into which marriage is possible, and visits and entertainments are held to and from the one lineage territory to the other. The two groups pair off with one another into sex partnerships which last till the groups break up and reform. A youth graduates out of this company of *simbe* age mates at marriage.

Authority over children rests jointly with the parents. That of the mother is likely to be the more effective in the early years, and she always holds a strong sanction in her manipulation and control of the food supply. The father is ultimately responsible for the order of the family, and his discipline is stronger than the mother's as the children grow older. There is a relation of friendly intimacy between alternate generations. Children are on easy terms with their grandparents and will normally use the latters' households as an escape from home discipline or as a more generous source of food if need or opportunity arises. Children are at no period encouraged to live away from home with other relatives, but parents allow them to circulate freely among a number of homesteads wherever they find the best welcome and the most plentiful food, among families which are usually both neighbours and close agnatic relatives. Brother and sister have no especial reserve for conflict and there is a strong and lasting bond of affection and reliance between them, institutionalized in the symbolism of a number of ritual occasions, and linked to their important later relations to one another's children as mother's brother (*mwa*) and father's sister (*nyapi*). Apart from parents, these are the only two consanguine relatives of the first ascending generation who are picked out by special kinship terms. The newly married woman is under the authority of her mother-in-law, and a man's relation to his wife's parents is marked by deep respect and avoidance. Ritual practices as well as personal attitudes emphasize the importance of fertility and virility,[1] and the value attached by a man to a numerous offspring and the ability of his wives to provide it. The Lovedu are aware of the male and female parts in procreation, but say that 'the woman's blood goes for nothing'. This seems a necessary inference from the nature of lineage organization rather than one they would ever argue from; there is only machinery for children to associate the father rather than the mother, nor do they permit marriage with close consanguine kin through of an unrelated lineage. It is

[1] e.g. the special rites which have to be carried out for a sterile girl dying unmarried, a wife dying without children, a widow dying before remarriage, a man dying when one of his wives is still childless, or a man dying before he has experienced sexual intercourse, the latter being treated similarly to a barren woman.

19: Southall E-9 (1945-1947) 1952 FL11 Lee FL11

diagram, p. 10). It is therefore difficult to give a precise account of the relation between ancestor worship and lineage formation. It is noteworthy, however, that the usual formula at a sacrifice was not spoken by any particular descendant of the recipient of sacrifice, but by any elder of his lineage present, who repeated it in turn while waiting for the sacrificial bull to urinate or excrete. If it refused to do this it was rejected and another substituted, and it was the elder who was repeating the formula at the moment when the bull urinated or excreted who had to make the sacrifice. The usual formula was *ewewe, kang' ewere ankwe*—'our father, call your father and us'—followed by the bidding of a blessing on the particular matter in hand. In the funeral ritual more emphasis seems to be laid on invoking the living from the ill will of the dead than on securing the favour of the latter in the other world. Similarly at any sacrifice, ancestors called to share are bidden to give the blessings for which they are asked on pain of being passed at and despised. Children may be named, according to the father's judgement, after various circumstances or persons linked with the child's birth or ascertained in dreams. But if the child dies untimely the diviner (*ganga*) is called to discover which ancestor is seeking to have the child named after it. In this way the child may be named after its own father or mother, or any other relative, male or female. The same group of names tends to occur frequently in converging lines of descent, especially those of famous ancestors, which are repeated particularly often, but there is no regular belief in the successive reincarnation of ancestors in alternate generations.

IV. LINEAGE CONCEPTS

Two special terms which the Luo use for lineages show the distinctions which they make between different aspects of the activity of these groups. Frequently all these terms may be applied to the same group on different occasions depending on the context. The most important of these terms are *dhoot, gweng', Ahombo*, and *ayweke*. *Gweng'* and *dhoot* are used of class A segments only, *ayweke* of class B segments only, and *Ahombo* may be used of either. The use of these terms is always logical when interpreted in relation to the structural position of the speakers, but their etymology does not always seem consistent with this unless it is understood in a symbolic sense. It may be best to give a general account of the usage and etymology of each one, followed by some quotations from informants.

Dhoot (pl. *dhoot*) is used for all those lineages which are corporate landholding units. They are the lineages closely adjacent to or class A. Some idea of the variations in their size and population is given in the population figures included in Figs. 1 and 2, and the maps (Figs. 3, 4, and 5). They carry general social functions. Each manages its political, land, economic, ritual, and other affairs through a council of elders representing its major segments and recognizing one of their number as leader. Organized on a territorial basis, they are the units of primary settlement or multiples of them,* responsible for the acquisition, apportionment, and use of land. They are the basis of a whole series of corporate group activities ranging from

* By settlement I mean simply a defined area of dwellings and all the land associated with it. Usually it is the area occupied by a specified social group. The Luo term *ot* (Chapter 3) is the name of recognized segmentation of dwellings larger than those of the family.

[text continues on p. 27]

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Lee FL11

friendly games of *adhola* (Luo hockey) between the smaller segments, through the wrestling and club-fighting of medium segments to the ritual warfare and open conflict of the larger lineages. Etymologically *dhoot* means 'mouth of house' (*dhoot* 613
mouth; ot, house) and, as quotations will show, often refers to the issue of children from the discovery of their mother's lot. This might further imply a principle of matrilineal descent, but of this there is not the slightest trace among the Luo. All their lineages are essentially patrilineal, but the original ancestors from whom they spring, and whose names they bear, may be either men or women, depending on whether segmentation took place between brothers of an elementary family or co-wives of a compound family. The significance of this etymology, and of the Luo interpretation of it, seems to be that the unity of uterine brothers in their mother's house is to them symbolic of the solidarity of members of the same *dhoot*. But, as has been previously noted, uterine brothers are also regarded from the opposite point of view, as symbolic in their quarrels of the fission between lineage segments. Nor is this inconsistent, but is in line with the character of all Luo lineage segments, which in one context emphasize their unity against all outsiders and in another their internal divisions.

The *dhoot* of Karachuonyo is to its members the largest lineage which carries 613
general social functions and which occupies one continuous block of territory. It is subdivided into smaller *dhodi* down to the level of those which are the primary settlement units. This is the class A system of segmentation which, as previously noted, may be from twofold to sixfold, and is usually fivefold in Karachuonyo, according to the particular agnatic line taken. The points of origin of these *dhodi* are only a small selection from the very large number of points of potential segmentation which appear in the whole genealogy of Karachuonyo (see large genealogical chart, Fig. 6, facing p. 52). For all uterine brothers, or co-wives with surviving male agnatic issue, from those of living families back to the earliest ancestors of the genealogy, represent points of fission in the class B segmentation, some of which have achieved class A status as *dhodi*.

Karachuonyo as a *dhoot* is thus a group of people claiming common agnatic descent 613
from Rachuonyo and subdivided at several successive levels into a number of smaller 621
dhodi all segmentally articulated. Karachuonyo as a continuous block of territory occupied and controlled by this group is also correspondingly subdivided, so that the arrangement of parts into a whole coincides in both cases. It is when they have the territorial aspect of a *dhoot* particularly in mind that the Luo refer to it as *gweng'* (pl. *gweng'*). The basic connotation is land, but the social group occupying the land is always implicit in the term *gweng'*. It would never be used for unclaimed or unoccupied land, which is *nine* (wilderness). Settlement, in the sense defined above is thus a reasonable translation of *gweng'*. In Karachuonyo all *gweng* are thought of as being essentially lineage settlements. When the Luo have a territorial unit in mind as being the most inclusive of its kind, as they do in the case of Karachuonyo itself and occasionally in some contexts the *dhodi* which are its major segments also, they refer to them as *piny* (country) rather than *gweng'*. The average population of minimal *gweng* is approximately 500.

Dhodi, which are major segments of the same superordinate lineage, refer to one 601
another as *dhwaka* (pl. *dhwaka*). The etymology of this word is uncertain, and it 613

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may be of Bantu origin. The facility with which the Luo incorporate linguistic borrowings even in the case of fundamental concepts (e.g. *Nyasaye*, God, *nesiga*, enemies, &c.) is in marked contrast to the persistence with which they have retained the other elements of their culture and imposed them on the non-Luo groups assimilated by them. The Luo sum up in the term *likambo* all those forces of friction and competition which weaken the solidarity of a lineage segment and lead to its further subdivision. The quarrels of uterine brothers and the jealousies of co-wives are regarded as typical of these. A *likambo* is, then, a rival lineage segment co-ordinate to one's own. When a man speaks of his *likambo* he always means a segment other than his own, but included in the same superordinate segment as is the one he has in mind as claiming his loyalty at that particular moment. It is those groups of *dhoodi* which stand in the *likambo* relationship to one another which play together at *ndiwa*, wrestle together, and fight together with clubs.[1]

The lineages of class B remain passive except when called into action in connexion with certain ritual situations, and the chance of this occurring depends mainly on their genealogical position. Those which are below the level of the minimal *dhoot* and *gweng'*, down to and including the members of component and elementary families, are constantly being involved as groups in the many rituals which accompany marriages and funerals, the founding of new homesteads, the starting of cultivation, sowing and reaping, and the organization of other periodic affairs within the minimal *gweng'*. The class B segments above this level only come into action haphazardly according to the incidence of ancestral sacrifices. When any social group is faced with a misfortune for which no specific remedy is recognized, a diviner (*ajuoga*) is consulted, and sacrifice made to the patrilineal ancestor indicated as responsible for the trouble. Which one is selected depends on the gravity of the misfortune and the level of lineage grouping affected by it. The diviner is most likely to indicate one of the eponymous ancestors of *dhoodi* as they are most prominent in the minds of all. If, however, the eponymous ancestor of any other segment is indicated, it would emerge from its passivity into action. Even when it is the eponymous ancestor of a *dhoot* who receives sacrifice, some or all of its genealogical co-ordinates and subordinates may only be class B segments, and these would be called into action on such occasions since the sacrificing segment usually calls its co-ordinates to participate and is itself represented by its *major* segments.[2] All class B segments acting in this way, whether below or above the level of the minimal *dhoot*, are called *ompodo*. Even a segment which is itself a *dhoot* and *gweng'* may be called *ompodo* in this context. The etymology of this word[3] might well suggest a uterine principle of grouping. However, as with *dhoot*, every *ompodo* is a patrilineal descent group, and whether it takes its name from a man or a woman depends on the genealogical incidence of co-wives and uterine brothers and the circumstances which call into action the agnatic groups

[1] Cf. the Talensi concept of *nanor* (Fortes, *Dynamics of Clanship*, pp. 51, 57, 201). Here, too, there is the idea of a reciprocal relationship between co-ordinates, but to the Talensi the chief emphasis is on the bond of unity resulting from ancestral brotherhood, whereas for the Luo it is on competitive subordination within a common superordinate. Co-ordinate segments are equally *likambo* to one another whether their eponymous were co-wives or uterine brothers.

[2] See below, p. 93. Cf. Fortes's analysis of the same principle among the Talensi (*The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*, p. 50).

[3] *opad* v., birth; *opado* v., to give birth. But it is possible to apply this root to procreation by men.

17: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Lee FL11

derived from them. Here again it seems as if a whole series of groups were identified with one symbolic personage, and the ideational qualities of the elementary family cell of mother and children are extended to much larger and differently derived groupings organized upon similar principles of solidarity. When *agnatic* groups act in co-ordinate relationships they also may refer to one another as *lineages* in the same way as is done by *dimodi*. But in the co-ordinate relationships of such class D *lineages* the competitive element is not so marked as the ordered marshalling of articulated segments in the achievement of a common purpose. Competitiveness still appears, however, in the haggling over shares of meat distributed at many rites.

Besides these generic terms lineages are referred to in particular by adding the particle *ka* to the name of the eponymous ancestor. A lineage is said to be *kabeng'ei ei mbisi* —people of one person—and a man's lineage affiliation is indicated by adding the personal particle and the locative particle to the lineage name, as *kabeng'eiengo*—a man of the lineage of Baebeengo.[1] Less pamphonous *ka* as *kaeka* of so-and-so, using *kaeka* in its figurative sense of the social group associated with a homestead, also, with their characteristic relativity, it can refer not merely to an actual homestead and its family, but to any lineage settlement however large, since all such must in theory be ultimately derived from the original homestead in which the eponymous ancestor lived.

Asked for the meaning of *dimo* an elder usually leans back on his stool and points round the homestead at the doorways of his wives' huts as the concrete demonstration of what he says. Thus:

Okuya-Mbuya of Kanyango Adhanja:[2] 'If you have three wives and each has a number of children, and the children with their mothers scatter to different homesteads, they drop your name and take their mothers'.' Okuya-Mbuya is a great-grandson of Onyango Adhanja by his first wife Ambango Nyamngeri. As may be seen from the chart (Fig. 6) Onyango Adhanja (vi) had three other wives besides Okuya's ancestress, and the descendants of all these have actually made separate settlements of their own called Kanyandiero, Kanyajwang', and Kobala, after these three wives. Okuya had also been speaking of his grandfather Mingora, whose descendants also have their own settlement, and saying that as Kanningora grew he would expect it to split up into three settlements named after Mingora's three wives.

Oyugi-Mbuya of Kanyaluo said of *dimo*: 'You get your *dimo* first from your mother, then it changes to the grandchildren to the father. It is just a question of naming you after the mother from whom you were born.' Oyugi is a great-great-grandson of Nyyaino (ix), first wife of Ogwono (x) (Fig. 6). He refers to the fact that the elementary family of the mother's hut is the primary unit in the system of segmentation, within the secondary grouping of descent from a man by all his wives taken together. Derivation from father or mother may alternate in different generations, and where segments are derived from women it is simply a naming device for distinguishing between descent groups all of which are patrilineal, not the result of any special value attached to descent from women as opposed to men.

[1] *ka*, *ei*, *ni*, personal particle; *ng'eni*, a person; *ka*, particle of place; *eshid*, *eno*.

[2] I hyphenate a second name to the first where it is the name of the individual's father; where it is the individual's nickname or a woman's personal name I add it without a hyphen. In either case, the addition of the second name serves to distinguish between the many individuals who have the same personal name.

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for the land of manslaughter should be punished at all. They feel that a person who makes the mistake of killing in anger is or has been or will eventually be punished by the ancestors, God, the elements, by illness, bad luck, misfortune, or the like, in the inevitable nature of things.

It is believed that cold-blooded, premeditated murder brings chiro to the group and is therefore punished by the tribe or by the segment affected. The group or the individual who took what they regarded as this calculated risk was eventually banished from the tribe or if large and strong enough to dominate the political unit to which the deceased belonged could force his supporters, usually his segment of the clan, to break away and leave the area. Luo kinship describes all members of the clan in the same genealogical generation as brothers; fratricide, therefore, has a very wide range.

Luo clans occupy and are identified with a geographical area. The clan and the area it occupies are usually called after the eponym of the tribe. Those living within a clan or tribal area who are not members of the clan or tribe are regarded as squatters (*jodak*) with limited rights. They may be unrelated squatters, but most often are found to be affines of legitimate clan members. Murder committed by such persons invokes immediate counteraction on the part of those who belong to the land by virtue of descent, *jogweng*. Cattle could be taken by force, the culprit banished or killed, and/or a woman from that group married by a member of the dead man's minimal lineage, his *jokakowo*, to raise seed unto the dead man's name. This woman would be regarded as the wife of the dead man, her children would placate his ghost as father (*wuowo*), the physical father would merely serve as genitor.

One major clan, *Kakia*, of a powerful tribe, the Seme of Central Nyanza, descended from a woman of this type—but then not exactly of this type: what happened was as follows. A *jodak*, living in the clan area of Seme, killed the son of an important elder of the tribe. He fled to his own tribal land to